6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

gated and therefore cultivated is now lying waste. There is not much enterprise among the Spiti people, and their trade has not been increasing as in Láhaul."

Proportion of the sexes.

In Láhaul the women outnumber the men in the proportion of 107 to 100, so far as the Census figures of 1881 show. But if the number of Láhaulis absent from Láhaul at the time of the Census be considered, the excess of women will not be so great; for it is customary to leave the old and infirm women behind in Láhaul when the rest of the family goes to Kúlu for the winter. In Spiti the figures show women to men in the proportion of 111 to 100. But this does not represent the normal state of the population, as many males were absent on a pilgrimage to Ráwalsir in Mandi at the time of the Census.

SECTION B.—SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE.

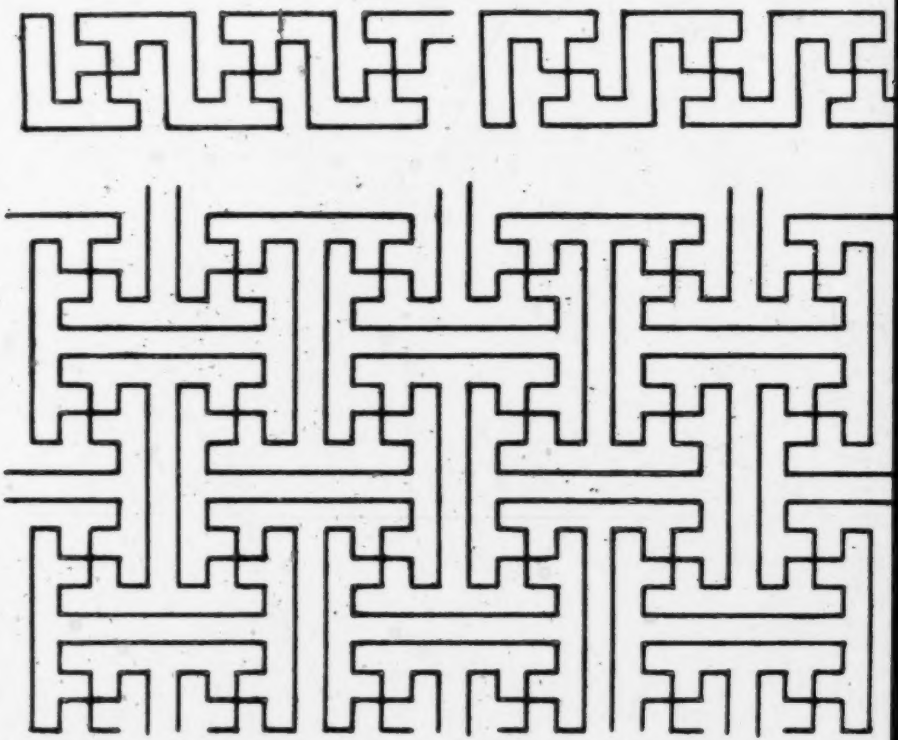
Houses and furniture.

The houses in Láhaul and Spiti are very different in appearance from those of Kúlu or Kángra; they are two and sometimes three storeys high with flat roofs; the lower storey is occupied by the cattle, horses, and sheep and goats; the upper one contains the rooms lived in by the family. In Spiti these rooms are commonly three in number, and surround on three sides an open court; one of them is the family chapel, which is ordinarily very well furnished with images, large prayer cylinders, religious pictures, books, and sacramental vessels; the others are good-sized rooms lighted by small windows hung with wooden shutters, the largest is about 20 feet square, and has a roof supported by a double row of upright posts. At the corners of the house are flag-staffs consisting of poles from which hang black *yaks'* tails. The walls are white-washed inside and out, and neatly topped with a coping of fagots. In Láhaul the houses are smaller, and less care and taste are expended in building and adorning them. Ordinarily the upper storey consists of an interior or winter room, an outer or summer room, and a verandah room open on the fourth side. In this verandah stands the loom; inside will be found large corn-chests made of slate* set in wooden frames, large stone bowls from Iskárdo, iron cauldrons, and cooking pots, an iron tripod or pot stand, some wooden dishes, and a few earthen pots from Kúlu. Many pack-saddles for sheep and goats are strewed about, and a few blankets and thick sheep-skin coats hang on the walls. Small holes in the wall serve the purpose both of windows and chimneys: bed-steads are unknown. Grass is stacked on the roof, and wood for fuel inside. This is a fair description of a house in the upper valleys of Láhaul; in the lower villages the rooms are larger and better ventilated. In Gárá many of the houses are built together in one block with connecting passages, by which communication is kept up in the winter without going out, which, when the snow is very deep, may be scarcely possible. Making thread is the chief occupation in winter; on fine days the loom is brought out, and some weaving done. Both men and women work the loom in

* Very fine slate in large slabs is to be had in Láhaul; the quarry is in Ghúsa on the mid-Himalayan range.

10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

In the drawings below showing the *yyungdrung* as an ornament in Native houses in Khalatse, Lower Ladakh, it will be seen turned both ways.



However all this may really be, on the whole I feel obliged to say, that my explanation of the *yyungdrung* must not be taken for more than a mere guess at its interpretation from a Tibetan point of view. I have no means in this remote land of collating these speculations with the mass of literature on the *svastika*.

The *yyungdrung* is thought to be of great importance at the wedding ceremony, and both bride and bridegroom have to sit on carpets showing the emblem. It is indeed in universal use in this connection, for in a copy of the wedding songs, which I received a few days ago from Phyang the *yyungdrung* is used for punctuation instead of the full stop.

Song No. I.[1]

bagma btangtsana nyopas sgola btangcessi glu'i[2] dpecha yin.

This is the book of the songs, which are sung at the door by the Nyopas, when the bride is given.

[1] The orthography of the songs has been brought into accordance with that of Ladakhi letter writing. In all doubtful cases, however, the spelling of the first MS. will be given.

[2] *A chungba* is indicated by an apostrophe.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

346 striped border The other three sides of the court-yard are
792 filled in with the two storeyed private dwellings of the lamas. No pillared cloisters are these, but just an occasional flight of a few steps, then a door, and at the side a window at a level which may or may not be in relation with that of the other doors and windows, and over both apertures the same kind of valance. If the latter sags in the middle, there is no hurry to replace it, far less to wash it, but on the whole this *dGonpa*, presents quite a clean, brushed, cared-for, tidy appearance. Ascending the steps, we arrive in the large covered portico outside the main room or refectory of the
● 353 monastery. All round the three walls pictures are painted in
779 bright colours. On the left is the " Wheel of Life " held by
537 a dragon-like monster. This consists of an inner, a middle, and an outer circle the middle one being divided into six compartments. The inner circle represents by means of a dove, a serpent and a pig coloured respectively red, green and black the three vices, lust, ill-will and stupidity, which bind man to the wheel of existence. In the upper compartment of the middle circle are the gods, into this grows the tree whose fruit provides any food desired by the soul and whose roots lie in the world of the demi-gods, who continually wage war against the gods in order to obtain this fruit. In the upper left-hand compartment are men. The above three existences are superior, whilst below the equator are the inferior ones of beasts, then of *yidags*, poor miserable men with large bellies, but such small necks that their hunger can never be appeased through such constricted throats, and in the lowest section are the hells, both hot and cold. A cold hell seems rather a misnomer to English ears, but Ladakis, at any rate, know the terrors of extreme cold. Buddha himself is out of the circle, and yet his reflexes seem somehow to be still in the wheel of existence. In the outer circle are pictures illustrating various phases of life, such as birth, marriage, death, burial work.

Opposite the top of the steps, on each side of the door with

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

its fine brass bosses, are the gods of the four points of the compass, whose duty it is to guard the temple, and these figures are depicted outside most temples. On the right wall of the portico is a benign old gentleman, the god of luck, who sits under a tree bright with blossom, and holds converse with sundry animals, such as a stag, an elephant, and a peacock. We take a deep breath of fresh air before entering the refectory with its dim atmosphere of musty incense, lighted from above through a central aperture leading to an inner roof, and from the door behind us, and slowly descry its contents between the dark wooden pillars and the faded hanging banners. Opposite to us the *Skushog's* throne is raised above the other seats, upholstered with rather dingy cushions on which he, of course, sits cross-legged, so there is no need for a place for the lower limbs to hang over, but immediately in front of it is a narrow ledge-like table on which are the tools of his office: the bell, the thunderbolt or *dorjhe*, a small tambourine, with a very restricted waist and a long tasselled appendage, as well as the knob on a string which beats on the skins when rattled. Other utensils consist of temple vessels for pouring out water, beer, tea and other libations. Leading up to the throne, on each side of the central aisle, are the seats of the lamas slightly raised above the ground, well-padded and covered with rugs, and in front of them a continuous shelf-like table. A cup or two may be seen left from the last meal; here, in the corner between seat and table, rests a leather bag, and on a plate some butter and tea. A lama tells us the tea has been given out of the bag and placed with the butter ready for the morning meal, which they take, he says, about 9 a.m., though they get up at sunrise.

Near this physical sustenance, on the lamas' seats are a collection of brass bowls leaning against one another upside down, as though to drip after washing. These are, for the oil and wicks to be placed before the altar. The seat of the *Slobdpon* is at the head of the monks' pew on the right of the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Skushog. Next to the *Slobdpon* sits the leader of the ecclesiastical band. Heading the opposite row is the *Umdzad*, who is the steward and is responsible for the worldly affairs of the monastery, and in some *dGonpa* at the further end, near the door and on the *Skushog's* left, a seat is reserved for a disciplinarian who has to keep the lamas in order should any misbehave.

Thus they sit, whether they are at meals or engaged in their devotions. The latter consists of the reading of the books, punctuated every now and again by the band, when the flageolets are blown and the drums are boomed. Behind the row of seats one's eyes, now accustomed to the dimness, are able to make out the walls, painted with pictures of all sorts of gods and creatures, human, animal and mixed. Here is one specimen of dragon-like fury, crushing all sorts of wretched creatures under his feet, no doubt for punitive purposes, and, let us hope, remedial ones. Another wall will show Buddha-like figures in peaceful contemplation, and with hands and fingers placed in various postures, each of which has its own special signification. In other places are wooden shelves and recesses of various sizes, once gaily painted round the edges, though the light is too obscure to appreciate it, now blackened by age and smoke. In these sit more images of gods, mostly of a beneficent type, but the chief ones will be found behind the *Skushog's* throne. In a corner will be seen immense pots used for water or beer, a most fascinating assembly with their long-nosed spouts drawn straight out from the brims, high pointed collars behind, shining copper sides with brass edgings and waist-bands, the latter sometimes chased in silver. In another corner will be dusty shelves containing the holy books, manuscripts written on parchment and tied between covers about twelve to eighteen inches long and some four to six inches high. So holy are these that when they are being carried along the streets, the good Buddhist uncovers and touches them with his head. They also are

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

where American marigolds sometimes blossom. Once, to finish the picture, we glimpsed a bent little old lama who peeped out of the attic and over the window boxes, and saw for a moment the elfin grey locks and untidy whiskers of his hatless old monkish face, the fittest possible inhabitant of that grotesque little corner.

There was one more interesting little visit to be paid. Meme Lobzang actually consented to show us his own private compartments. There were eight of us, and the lamas had some whispered consultation as to whether we should all get in. Across the court-yard and up some steps to the right of the main entrance, under the valanced doorway, through a small vestibule in which we noticed a fascinating copper water pot, we entered a tiny room looking down towards Leh. We could just manage to sit down on the floor, the interested lamas peering in and watching our every movement with amused curiosity. The floor was covered with small mats over felt ones. The *Slobdpon's* chief resting place and probably his bed, was rather more padded, and covered with an orange felt. He sat with his back to the small latticed window, a low tiny table in front, and at his side a higher one on which were sundry portraits, one of their Majesties, the King and Queen, one of the Dalai Lama, and one of the *Skushog* of Hemis in his festival dancing dress with high hat and overskirt of human bones, taken by the Doctor Sahib. A pickle bottle held a bunch of green from the shrub in the court-yard, and at the side was a low open bowl of rose petals. A small god like a doll, and a pot of charming design, the latter unfortunately dressed in lady-like petticoats, were also noticed, besides a printing frame, and another tiny god of doll's house size. Behind him on the windowsill sundry writing materials, religious books, and small ceremonial utensils lay about, a coloured portrait of the late King Edward hung on another wall; in fact every corner of the room was used, yet the effect was clean and tidy. Stuffy it could not help being with so many visitors, and, after taking

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

114 595 6. *Personal field-work research*

After having gathered a certain amount of theoretical information of the kind which I have given above, I felt the necessity to go out and see things for myself. I asked Nono Tse-p'hün to take me to some of the polyandrous households which he knew in the neighbourhood of Leh, and he accepted readily enough.

595 601 (i) *Visits to polyandrous households*

Consequently, on the 30th of August 1938, we visited a family living in polyandry in the immediate outskirts of the town. The name of the house was *Tok-Tok* (possibly *Grogs-Grogs* or *T'hog-T'hog*) and consisted of two brothers living polyandrously, and of two of their sons by a first wife also living in this way. I give the genealogy which I made then, in Table 27, by way of illustration.

789 As we approached the Tok-Tok house I noticed a *Dö* (*mDos*) string cross over the door to catch devils. I remarked upon it and heard that 342 in Ladak it is called a *namgo* (*rNam-mGo?*). The building was a typical ●[353] Tibetan one, with a flat roof covered with fuel for the winter arranged in packets round the edge, thick stone walls painted white, rectangular doors and windows, the lower part of the frame broader than the upper part, with coloured decorations and a piece of cloth hanging over the top part, a *lha-k'hang* (*lHa-K'hang*) or private chapel on the first floor with *chötens* visible through the window. We entered by the front gate which led into a yard and thence into a stable, from which a staircase took us up to the first floor. It was there that we met the family, and 115 had our talk with our principal informant, the eldest father and former master of the household, Lobsang Tok-Tok.

595 428 He told us that he and his brother, Ishe Döndrup, together with their eldest sister, Skalzang Rolma, were the three children of a certain Ishe Tok-Tok now dead. The sister had been married off in *bag-ma* to the now deceased son of the Par-k'hang house (meaning "Printing House"), Samten, with whom she had had no children. She had inherited the [597] property at his death, and would be holding it as long as she lived, or until the little girl she had adopted married and set herself up in the *k'hang-chen* as the heiress. This little girl belonged to the *p'ha-spun* of Skalzang Rolma's former husband and, for this reason, was entitled to inherit the Par-k'hang house.

591 595 888 Lobsang himself, a man in his sixties now, had been married polyandrously with his brother to a certain Tsering Panzom with whom they had had two children, a son called Stobgyal and a girl, Ishe Palkid.

24: Peter E-5 (1950-1957) 1963 AJ1 Tibet
West Tibetans AJ4

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Fig. 39. A typical Ladaki house from outside, at Leh.

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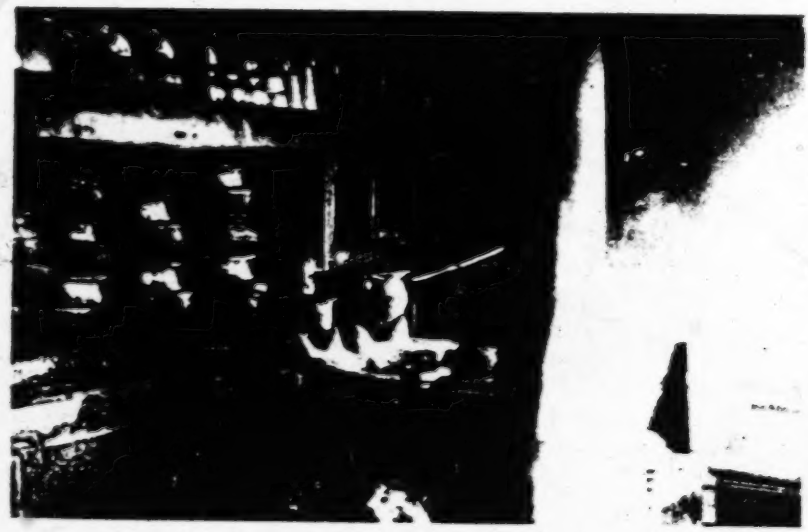

Fig. 40. The kitchen inside a Ladaki house, at Leh.

[P. 480 - C]

H Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
w Tibetans A14

the fields, or now and then in separate plantations. But the growth is not enough to supply all that is wanted. When the new bazaar at Leh was built, a great old plantation belonging to the chief monastery was felled for the purpose, nothing approaching to which is now to be seen in the country. The difficulty in the way of plantations seems to be that there is required for them positions advantageous in point of soil and water which are already occupied by crops; one can hardly increase the growth of timber without diminishing the breadth of land tilled, and of that there is none too much. 313.

The houses are built of sun-dried bricks or of stone. They are flat-roofed, of two or three stories, but these all very low. Except in the very poorest houses there is always a reception room kept neat and clean, the rest not having this character. When a visitor comes they carpet this room with felts, and do all they can to make him and his attendants comfortable. The houses are all whitewashed, the aspect of them—perhaps among groups of trees, or else standing out in relief from the sombre rock on which they may be built, rising one behind the other on the face of it—with their verandah-rooms or with balconies projecting, is often bright and pleasant. The houses of people of the higher ranks have an oratory for the practice of the Buddhist religious ceremonies. The palace at Leh is probably the finest building in the country, though some of the monasteries may approach it. This palace is curiously contrived. The arrangement of the rooms is very irregular; they are not in continuous stories, but are at all sorts of levels, connected by narrow and low passages. There are two or three large reception rooms, some of them with an opening to the sky in the centre, this plan allowing of a large fire burning in winter on the floor of the room. The roofs of these large rooms were supported by columns with the wide-extending head or capital which is so marked a feature in Indian architecture; the columns, and indeed most of the woodwork, were gaily coloured, and on the walls were painted sacred pictures. 342 [576] 344 [341] [353]

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

who could make themselves understood to me and I to them, I began to realize that, as may be expected from a man when he is faced with the choice of hard work for life and poverty in his old age, or the possibility of a life not so hard and care in his old age, many were not really as devout, sincere and moral in their lives and thoughts as they should be and could be classified as professional lamas; it may be that I expected too much from them.

At the entrance to the monastery there were as always a number of prayer cylinders; upon entering we rotated these, thus sending our prayers to heaven as we passed. At the entrance were also quite a few savage mastiffs which are there to guard the gates—from whom I did not discover—but they looked most vicious brutes even when the lama on duty held them back from us. In the courtyard was a large square building containing the images; no woman may enter here. The dimly lit chapel, odorous with incense, was interesting with elaborately and beautifully carved images of Buddha in all kinds of stone, some being gilded. Spread out before the most important of them all was the most amazing collection of gifts, a French gilded clock, a Venetian glass vase with lustres hanging, a basket shape made up of coloured sea shells and filled with faded feather flowers, an ivory pagoda shape, and most surprising of all, a china funeral wreath under its glass canopy. The walls had the most lovely Chinese silk and Tibetan gold-embroidered velvet hangings. Beneath these were some bowls of "incarnation water". To one side was a large stool, rather like a low table with a small rail around it; this had two steps leading up to it and was cloth covered, obviously the pulpit from which the Head Lama preached as he sat. To one side and at the feet of a great Buddha, were dull gilded metal "champagne cups".

The most beautiful murals had been painted on the walls; the Chinese school revealed itself in many of them. Each of the figures was as though floating in a cloud in the heavens; one, a fair Tibetan figure playing a stringed instrument, was surrounded by white clouds, the next, a bolt-eyed, dark skinned warrior with a sword in his hand floated in dark clouds. The Buddhist Ceylon priest said that they depicted Good and Evil: the Head Lama went into the story of a war fought between Lamas and invaders. I am inclined to believe my Ceylon friend.

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XVIII

A TRIP TO LADAKH (*continued*)

LET us now visit a monastery. As usual, as we approached Lamauru, we were met by much noise and dust. The monastery band evidently was on the war-path, from the terrific braying and tom-tomming that greeted us, and the crowd of monastery dignitaries and village magnates kicked up much dust as they approached. We were taken round the monastery by the head ecclesiastic. We climbed the stone stairway to the monastery, which, as usual, was situated on the top of a cliff, built on to and into it in such a way that it was not easy to see where rock ended and the building commenced. Along the side of the stairway were rows of prayer wheels let into the wall, which we set spinning in the orthodox manner. At least I hope we did spin them the right and not the wrong way. I think we must have spun them round the right way, for our journey was prosperous. The chapel was full of interesting objects, and one did not know quite what to look at, for there seemed to be, and there was, such a crowd of interesting objects which I had never seen before. The building was like a hall, the roof supported by wooden pillars, with a gallery all round, from which hung a profusion of silk banners of Chinese design, chiefly dragons. On one side of the hall was a row of coloured figures, life-size, of Buddha and sainted lamas, which were arrayed in rich silks. Before each figure was a table or altar of very curious design, coloured with

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri W. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

bright red, green, yellow and gold, carved with dragons and sacred symbols. 778 353

On the tables were metal cups and goblets, and on each table was a basin of holy water, an oil lamp burning, the chalice for the "chang" (cider) and paten for the bread, a "dorje" (a prettily carved brass or silver dumb-bell-looking article used by the priest during part of the service), also a little drum often made of a human skull sawn off at the top to allow for the skin to be stretched. There were also some goblets made of human skulls, and a human thigh-bone used as a trumpet. 782 534

Down the middle of the chapel are low benches in lines, end on to the row of figures, on which the monks kneel facing the altars as they read their sacred books. On the left side of the chapel are rows of copper beakers full of chang, from which the monks refresh themselves when they become sleepy over their much reading. Then on the left wall are shelves in which their books are kept. These are long strips of paper or parchment manuscripts. 346 792 796

There are five chapels kept each day. When any great person dies the monks are paid to read through a certain number of their holy books. They each take so many pages, and read through them aloud, all together, each one reading something different, so there must be a fair volume of sound. I do not know if volume of sound has any value and so adds to the merit of reading so many thousands of words.

These people have evidently thought out a truly mechanical way to salvation. When electric power reaches Ladakh and prayer wheels are worked by motors, merit will speed up a great deal and Nirvana will be within reach of all. The chapel needed much cleaning. There was an overwhelming smell of lamp oil, or burning 788 344 792